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THE GORDONS IN POLAND
“MARQUISES OF HUNTLY”
WITH A LINE IN SAXONY

BY

JOHN MALCOLM BULLOCH

PETERHEAD

THE BUCHAN CLUB

1932

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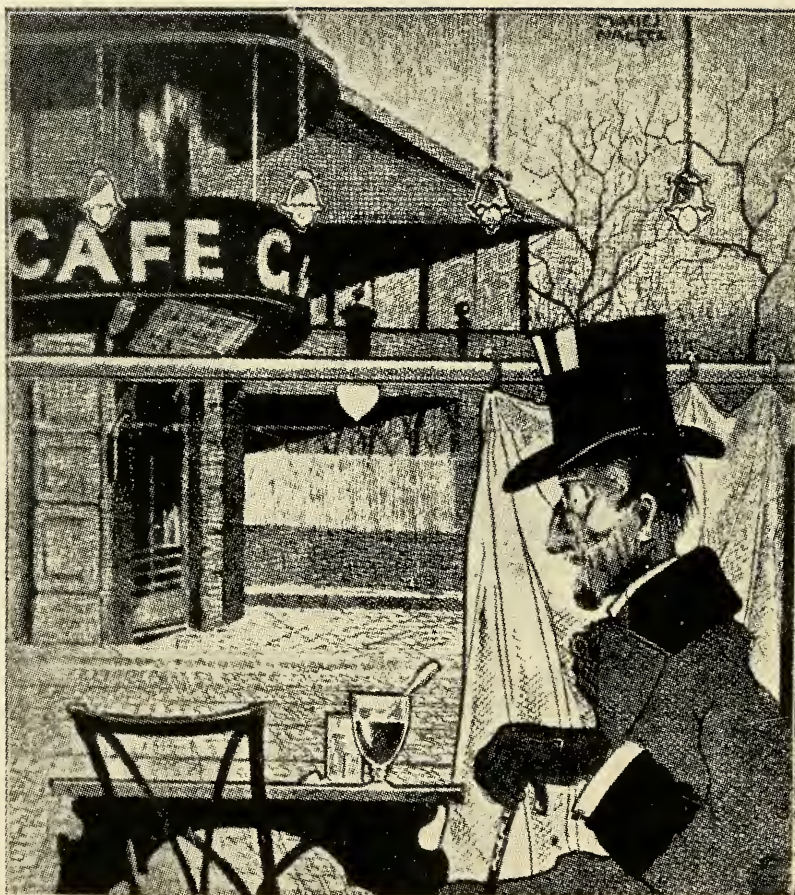
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THE LAST POLISH "MARQUIS OF HUNTLY"

Francis Adolf Thomas Zenon Gordon, "Marquis of Huntly Gordon" (1842-1921), the supposed descendant of Lord Henry Gordon (1635-74/5), son of the 2nd Marquis of Huntly (beheaded 1649). From the cartoon by Maciej Walcz in "Mucha," Warsaw, March 3, 1905.

The Polish "Marquises of Huntly."

On January 17, 1732, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, the last king of Poland, came into a world which proved too much for him. The bicentenary of his birth recalls the fact that he was descended from the noble house of Gordon, his great grand-mother, Lady Catherine Gordon (Countess Morsztyn), having been the youngest daughter of the 2nd Marquis of Huntly, who was beheaded in 1649.

As a result of the marriage, in 1659, of Lady Catherine and the Polish statesman and poet, Count John Andrew Morsztyn, several aristocratic families on the Continent trace to the noble Gordons, these including the houses of Czartoryski, famous in the annals of Poland's fight for liberty, Lubomirski, Potocki, Radzivill and Zamoyski, to name only a few.

But another group of families, scattered over Poland, Russia, Hungary and Germany, also claim descent from the house of Gordon through Lady Catherine's twin brother, Lord Henry Gordon. This claim has been made for many years, having been first started in print in 1879. But all attempts to discover a wife by whom Lord Henry could have become ancestor to anybody have failed. Yet this claim continues to be eagerly and quite sincerely pressed, especially so since the war, when several families of Scots descent in Germany and Poland have shown a keen desire to reassert their genealogical contacts with Scotland.

The most picturesque example of this ambition occurred in the autumn of 1929, when Mr Edmund von Gordon, a younger member of the family of von Gordon Coldwells of Laskowitz, formerly in West Prussia and now in the unhappy Polish Corridor, came to this country to renew his contacts, visiting the Marquis of Aberdeen, the head of his branch, the Gordons of Coldwells, near Ellon, and the Earl of Haddo at Haddo; while the Marquis of Huntly has recently been the recipient of letters from families on the Continent claiming kinship on the theory that they descend from Lord Henry Gordon.

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Since 1898 I have been trying to solve this persistent puzzle, and others have been working at it, notably Miss Margaret Warrender, sister of the late Sir George Warrender. The bi-centenary of Stanislaus Poniatowski's birth, coupled with the reiteration of claim to descents from Lord Henry Gordon, suggests a restatement of the whole case, and a co-ordination of much material contributed to various periodicals during the last thirty odd years. This pursuit of a legend is very interesting, and it might become important, for male descendants of Lord Henry are in the succession for the marquiseate.

There is, of course, no difficulty about the identity of Lord Henry Gordon. He was the fifth and youngest son of the 2nd Marquis of Huntly (beheaded 1649), by his wife (married in 1607, when she was only thirteen), Lady Anne Campbell, daughter of the 7th Earl of Argyll. Before succeeding, the marquis spent twelve years (1624-36) off and on in France as an officer in the Scots Men-at-Arms, and Lord Henry was born there apparently about 1635, being the twin of Lady Catherine Gordon. Gilbert Gordon of Sallagh, in continuing Sir Robert Gordon's genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland, briefly records Lord Henry's birth (p. 460): "The Countess of Enzie (now Marquise of Huntly) went afterwards into France [where her husband had started a new spell of service in 1632], and was brought to bed at Paris of two twins, a son and a daughter who are yet [1651] alive." Gordon ("Scots Affairs," ii. 238) also notes that Lord Henry was born in France.

We know little or nothing about Lord Henry's early youth in France, where he seems to have been entirely reared, for, when his father and mother with "tua sonis and Lady Ann" returned to Scotland "in royall maner" in October, 1636, Spalding tells us ("Trubles," p. 76) that they left behind them "tuo twin children borne of his Lady to him." The possibility is that, as the times were troublesome, Lord Henry and his sister remained permanently in France. Their mother died in Old Aberdeen in June, 1638; their eldest brother, Lord Gordon, who had served in Alsace and Lorraine, was killed at the battle of Alford in 1645; their second brother, James, Viscount Aboyne, died in Paris in February, 1649, a few days after the execution of Charles I. and a few weeks before the execution of his own father, the 2nd Mar-

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quis. There was, therefore, little call on the twins to come home. Indeed, if we are to believe their own statement, made in 1664, they were not even supported by their family.

They seem to have been looked after in Paris by that queer alchemist, Dr William Davidson, whose career was dealt with by Dr Small in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland" in 1874 (x. 265-280). Our knowledge of Davidson has recently been extended in an account of his curious books by the late Dr Kellas Johnstone, in the "Bibliographia Aberdonensis." Davidson was a far off relative of the twins, for, according to the elaborate birth briefe he got in 1629—after which he styled himself "nobilis Scotus"—his father, Duncan Davidson of Ardmachron in the parish of Rathen, Aberdeenshire—a descendant of the Davidsons of Auchinhamper in the Banffshire part of Inverkeithny—married Janet Forbes of the Pitsligo family, by Katherine Gordon, daughter of Alexander Gordon of Strathaven, and grand-daughter of the 3rd Earl of Huntly. In one of his books, "Commentariorum" (1660), Davidson interpolates a piece of autobiography in which he deals with the former feuds between the Forbeses and the Gordons, noting how causes of friction had been smoothed away by intermarriages. As the result of this intermixture of blood in himself, he may have thought it his bounden duty to look after the Gordon twins.

Furthermore, Davidson probably had sympathies with his wards' father, whom William Gordon, the historian of the Gordons, calls a "great favourer of learned men" (ii 578), for Jean de Montereul, the French ambassador to this country, tells us that the Marquis was a bit of an astrologer and quotes the boyish opinion of Lord Charles Gordon, the elder brother of the twins, in 1646:—"I would certainly have taken him for a wizard had he (the Marquis) not been my papa" ("Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean de Montereul," Scot. Hist. Soc., 1899, ii. 346).

When Mary of Gonzaga went off from Paris to Poland in 1645 to marry John Casimir, king from 1648-1668, she took in her train Lady Catherine Gordon. Dr Davidson, who was a member of the household of the Prince de Conti, had apparently brought them together, and followed them to Poland in 1650, taking with him the fifteen year old

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Lord Henry. The mordant Robert Mylne, writer in Edinburgh, in his "Genealogie of the Familie of Gordon," a manuscript of 1787, formerly in the library at Skene House, where Dr Joseph Robertson saw it about 1859, says that Davidson took both the twins to Poland with him, and this is suggested by Robert Yard in a letter written from Warsaw on January 10, 1669-70 (P.R.O.: S.P. 88: 12) in which he tells us that Sir Peter Wyche, our envoy in Russia in 1669, in passing through Warsaw was received with "great expressions of kindness" by Count Morsztyn," whose ladye, a daughter of the old Marques of Huntly, (was) born in France, where he was lieuten't of the Scotch Gens d'Armes; brought to Poland with her brother by Doctor Davidson and brought up by the late Queen, and so happily married." From being a member of the household of Prince Lubomirski and then in that of John Casimir, Davidson was in the heart of things at Warsaw, and no doubt got Lord Henry a commission in the Polish army.

Lord Henry's life—a matter of some forty years (1635?-1674/5), was divided into three periods—his boyhood in France (1635?-50); his life in Poland (1650-1664); his life in Scotland (1664-74/5). Of the first period we know practically nothing; of the Polish period very little; and nothing of any marriage contracted there; while his last ten years, which were spent in this country, are hazy.

The first reference to his career occurs on June 10, 1658, when he was granted an "indigenat," that is a recognition of his noble birth. Copies of this document, which is sometimes represented as a "patent of nobility," are in the hands of several Polish families claiming descent from him, and it is printed in a queer mixture of Polish and Latin in Zychlinski's "Zlota Ksiega Szlachty Polskiej" (p. 76). In July, 1931, when in Budapest I also saw a translation of it in German. The "indigenat" is preserved in the "Volumina Legum" (St Petersburg, 1859: iv., 565). The translation, made for me many years ago by a Pole, runs:—

The Constitution of the six weeks' diet of the year of the Lord 1658 on the 10th day of the month of June, which took place with the consent of all classes of the population and was reprinted by the Constitution of the Warsaw "Sejm" in 1659 (1859?), and according to the autograph of Ladislav Lubowiecki of Lubower of noble birth, at that time Marshal of the Court of the Deputy of the General Waywodship of Cracow.

In the name of God, Amen, John Casimir, by the Grace of God, King of

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Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Masowia, Samogitia, Livonia, Smolensk, Czernichoff, Sweden, Gotha, Vandalia, hereditary King.

Be it known to all in general in our crown empires, in the Grand Duchies of Lithuania and provinces belonging thereto that we have called together an ordinary six weeks' diet, at which with the consent of all classes the following was stipulated and constituted.

The right of citizenship to Henry de Gordon, of noble birth, Marquis of Huntly: Following the noble example of our ancestors, the Kings of Poland, who always rewarded services rendered to our republic (such as those by which distinguished, during the present troubled time, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry de Gordon, of noble birth, Marquis of Huntly, a near relation of the English Royal House, a member of the very first family of his country).

We therefore grant citizenship of our empire to him and his descendants of both sexes both from the mother and the father and the edict to this effect we have ordered to be issued from our royal chancery.

Ladislas Lubowiecki, Marshal of the Posen meeting; the rural Cracow judge; secretary of H.R.H. the Rev. Stanislas Lipski of Lipu, Canon of Plock.

The granting of this "indigenat" was probably not unconnected with his sister's engagement to the grand treasurer, Count John Andrew Morsztyn, a reference to which is made in the diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, though it was not included in the Spalding Club summary of that huge work. Auchleuchries, a man of his own age, who had entered the Swedish army in 1655, and had battledored and shuttlecocked between Sweden and Poland as a prisoner of war, found himself a prisoner of the Poles in January, 1659, and entered their army as quarter master. In January, 1659, he was at Thorn, which is 115 miles north west of Warsaw, and "met a certain nobleman named Morstein who was betrothed to Lady Gordon (sic), a daughter of the house of Huntley" ("Tagebuch," i., 162). Shortly after he met "Obristlieutenant Henry Gordon" and the mysterious Major Patrick Gordon, known as "Steelhand." There are a few more references in the "Tagebuch" to Lord Henry, who took part with Auchleuchries in the campaign of the Poles and the Crim-Tartars against the Cossacks of the Ukraine and the Russians, which ended in the disastrous rout of the latter at Czudno, a place in Volhynia, in 1660.

In this campaign Lord Henry had a horse shot under him ("Tagebuch," i., 220). In November, 1660, Lord Henry captured Colonel Thomas Menzies of the Russian army, who was laird of Balgownie (ibid. i., 253). There is something ironically dramatic in the spectacle

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of one Scot capturing another in a foreign land. On February 17, 1672, Lord Henry made a disposition at Aberdeen bearing on this episode (Spalding Club "Misc.," v., 352-3) :—

The said deceast Lievtennant Collonell Thomas Menzeis, being in anno 1660 in that chairge, under the command of his Imperiall Majestie of Russia, in fighting against the Polonians besied Szudna, was deadlie woundit and takin prisoner be the said Lord Hendrie Gordon, collonell vnder the command of His Majestie of Polland, and dyed of his woundes in Vkrain and wes buried in the fields at Szudna.

When Auchleuchries, after swithering whether he should join the army of the Holy Roman Empire, decided, on the suggestion of Colonel Daniel Crawford who had been captured at Czudno, to give his services to Russia, he left Thorn, where he had been ill, in July, 1661, and writes ("Diary," p. 40) :—

Having taken my leave of friends, I crossed the river Vistula, and lodged in the Prague all night, and the next morning, after breakfast and a merry cup with the friends who had convoyed us, wee began our journey. Colonell Crawford, being a prisoner to the Colonell Lord Henry Gordon, was not only maintained by him at a plentiful table in Varso (Warsaw), but dismissed ransome free, and gave him a pass for a capitaine of horse. Captain Pawl Menezes [of Pitfodels] had a pass for a capitaine of foot.

The casualness with which these Scots franked one another in the service of opposing armies is extraordinary.

As Patrick Gordon entered the Russian army, he naturally has nothing more to say about Lord Henry, whom he left behind in Poland. But Lord Henry did not remain very long there, coming to this country in 1664 to pursue his claim to a share in the Huntly estates, which were in a bad way, for the Gordon family had had a gruelling time. Thus, as already noted, Lord Henry's eldest brother, George, Lord Gordon, had been killed at the Battle of Alford in 1645. The second brother, James, Viscount Aboyne, had died in Paris heart-broken, it was said, over the execution of the King. His third brother, who succeeded as 3rd Marquis of Huntly, and whose honours had been restored, died in 1653. His fourth brother, Charles, through whom the present Marquis of Huntly came into the title, was luckier for he had been created Earl of Aboyne.

Things, however, began to pick up when the 4th Marquis, Lord Henry's young nephew, who had been brought up at Elgin "very mean" by his mother, a Grant of Freuchie, got the forfeiture of his

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grandfather rescinded in his favour in 1661. In 1662 he had a grant from the King of the Huntly estate, which had fallen to the crown through the forfeiture of the Marquis of Argyll (beheaded 1664), who was Lord Henry's uncle.

From an undated and rather truculent letter, apparently written to Lord Lauderdale—for it is preserved in the Lauderdale papers at the British Museum—who was the Secretary for Scotland, it would seem that Lord Henry had been in touch with the Scots authorities about his portion of the estate before coming to this country. From certain facts, such as his mention of his twenty-eight years, the letter was probably written towards the end of 1663. Like all his letters, it was written in French, which makes one wonder whether he knew English, for he had been brought up wholly abroad. It runs (Add. MSS. 23,120 f. 148) :—

Monseigneur—Having considered what you were good enough to show me yesterday relating to my affairs I understand that the King cannot tell me what my portion is or what the others will receive until a general examination of all the family's estates has been made when His Majesty will then decide each share according to the report. But, as that cannot be done all at once, the affair may last a considerable time and I shall be very inconvenienced if I have to wait without receiving from any source any income with which to exist in the meantime.

I beseech you, therefore, to have the goodness to obtain for me from His Majesty an order addressed to my brother, or to those who receive the income from the Huntly estates, commanding them to pay me quarterly a certain sum from the income of the said estates for my living expenses until such time as His Majesty definitely names my share and that of the others. I beseech you, moreover, to arrange that this order dates as from the first of January of this year. As to the amount, I desire no more than will enable me to live honorably and in accordance with my position, and that in which I have lived by the Grace of God up to the present which cannot be done on less than £100 sterling a quarter. That will not ruin the family. Nor is it asking too much especially by one who, although holding very just claims, has never received anything from the family for twenty-eight years.

This then is what I beg of you just now, hoping that you will grant me this favour, although I have not yet merited this kindness by any service to you; but I assure you that I shall be most grateful and that I shall seek out every opportunity of showing you that I am not ungrateful for all the favours you have shown me and that I shall be proud to bear the title, Monseigneur, of your most humble, most obedient, and most obliged servant,

H. de GORDON d'HONTHLEY,
Colonel.

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It is rather difficult to say where Lord Henry wrote this letter, for there is no evidence that Lord Lauderdale—if it was to him that it was addressed—ever was in Poland, and therefore could not have shown Lord Henry a letter “yesterday.” Lord Henry was certainly in England in April, 1664, as we learn from a hitherto unpublished letter—the original was presented to me in March, 1908, by the late Mr Charles Dalton, who printed our early army lists at his own expense—written from Hole Haven on the isle of Canvey in the Thames. Hole Haven was used as a quarantine station against the plague, and Lord Henry’s letter forms a very interesting point in the history of that curse. Mr Walton Bell, the historian of the plague in London, says that Hole Haven had been used as a quarantine station as early as June, 1664, but Lord Henry’s letter clearly proves that it was so used in April, 1664. It is addressed to “Monseigneur.” This was clearly the Earl of Lauderdale. The translation of the letter, which is dated “hole haven, 5 avril,” runs as follows:—

Monseigneur—I am most distressed that I am obliged to address you this letter before I have had the honour of paying my respects, but I hope you will pardon my boldness, since I cannot offer you my services in person, in asking you to obtain permission for me to proceed to London, for the ship on which I came from Holland has stopped here nine days (and has to remain for thirty) on account of the plague which is said to be in that country. I, personally, have come from Poland with permission from the King (under whom I have the honour to have a regiment) expressly for the purpose of making my bow to His Majesty, the King of England, and of offering him my most obedient services, as I do not wish to depart in that respect from the honour which my ancestors have had of always serving their King. I do not doubt but that you are very well aware that the late Marquis of Huntly (my father) lost his life in their service and that all our family (by the grace of God) have never deviated from the duty they owed to their King. I therefore, hope, Sir, that you will be good enough to do me the favour of obtaining permission for me to leave here in order to present myself before His Majesty. At the same time, I thank you in advance for your favour, assuring you that I am respectfully your most humble and obedient servant, H. de Gordon d’Honthley.

Lord Henry’s arrival in England was followed by a letter, written in French, to Lauderdale, from Warsaw, on May, 1664, by his sister, Catherine, Countess Morsztyn (Add. MSS, 23122 f. 29):—

Sir—I have learned that, by a generosity quite special and worthy of a person of your merit, you have been good enough to honour my brother and my nephew by putting them under your protection. It is an action well worthy of praise, from whatever point one views it, for not only are they

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orphans, but they are so from a glorious cause, since it is the fidelity of their ancestor for the King which is the cause of this unhappiness into which they have fallen. But it is needless that I represent to you the glory which you have gained in this encounter, since I am sufficiently persuaded that you have never had another end in all your enterprises than to acquire it.

I only beg of you, Sir, not to deny me the same privilege as that you accord to my brother and my nephew, and to receive me among the number of your wards. Your merit in so doing will be far greater before God, and the commendations which have been given you up to this hour for so good a purpose will no doubt increase in proportion as it is seen that you do it in order to maintain the justice of which I have every imaginable cause to complain if it deprives me of being numbered among those who share in the benefits of your house, from which I have had no subsistence whatever since I was born. It is indeed true that God has taken care of me; but I have children who assuredly will not renounce their right any more than I if by chance we are compelled to it. I shall always have the temerity to invoke your goodness and justice in the assurance that, having such a powerful friend, nothing could possibly harm me. This is the thought which fills me at present, and in which I form a firm and unquenchable design to continue all my life, Sir,

Your very humble and very affectionate servant,

CATHERINE DE GORDON MORSTIN,
Great Referendary of the Kingdom of Poland.

Lord Henry went on to Scotland and was in Aberdeen on September 6, 1664, when he was admitted an honorary burgess, being described as "sone to ane noble and potent Earll, George, Marques of Huntlie, Earle of Enzie, and Lord Badenoch and Collonell under the King of Poland" (New Spalding Club, "Misc." ii., 422). On this occasion, if not before, he met several of the Quality, for several other notables were admitted burgesses on the same day:—Adam Urquhart of Meldrum; Francis Irvine, whose brother, Alexander Irvine of Drum, had married Lord Henry's sister, Lady Mary Gordon, while Irvine's own sister, "Bonnie Peggy Irvine" of the ballad, had married Lord Henry's brother, Charles, 1st Earl of Aboyne. Several other men were admitted burgesses on the same occasion:—Alexander Gordon of Arradoul; William Gordon, writer, of Edinburgh; Sir John Baird of New Byth; John Irvine of Knowsie and Mr John Irvine, son of John Irvine of Murthill. Lord Henry's two servants, John Bruce and James Ogilvy, were also admitted burgesses on the same occasion.

In the matter of Lord Henry's claim, the authorities got going on October 14, 1664, when the King, recognising the claim of Lord Henry

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and of his nieces, Ladies Anne, Mary and Jean Gordon, appointed eight commissioners, including Lords Roxburghe, Haddington, Kincardine, Halearton and Bellenden, to value the Huntly estates, the first meeting being summoned for November 24 ("Privy Council Register," 3S, i., 615-6). The business was difficult, for different values were placed on the estate by the commissioners and Lord Henry who, as Robert Mylne said, was "a little hair-brained, but very courageous." His courage took the form of writing letters to Lauderdale. On February 27, 1665, he wrote a letter from Edinburgh (Add. MSS. 23122, f. 337):—

Monseigneur—I am infinitely obliged to you for your kindness in replying to mine, and that makes me hope for the honour of your kind favours in the preparatory measures of my affairs, which have been begun by the Government of your good administration, and by the good affection which it has pleased you to bear me, of which I am infinitely grateful, and entirely beholden. This, then, Monseigneur, will be to beg you to obtain for me a note from his Majesty to the Trustees of the Marquis (of whom, Monseigneur, you are the first), in order that they may grant me some sum for subsistence until his Majesty has decisively commanded my share, for the first sum which you were good enough to obtain for me has already been spent without my being able to obtain yet that which I desire, and that which his Majesty has commanded (as you know), more especially as the trustees who are here cannot agree together on many points. I hope now that in the end they will agree, and that they will know the intricate affair [embrouillement] in which they are engaged. If you have the goodness to write them about it by order of the King as being the first trustee, I have no doubt whatever that they will not gainsay it, and I—I shall try to bear them out in it. I hope, Monseigneur, for this favour of your goodness, which I shall add to all the others I have had from you, and for which I shall always remain, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient and affectionate servant.

H. de GORDON d'HONTHLEY.

He sent another letter to Lauderdale from Edinburgh on March 18, 1665 (Add. MSS. 23122, f. 283):—

Monseigneur—I esteem as a great honour the favour which you have been pleased to do me in honouring me with one of yours, and particularly for your goodness in supporting my interests, for which I am infinitely beholden to you; and also, Monseigneur, that makes me resolve to put them entirely in your hands, as it would be impossible to have a more worthy defender of my cause than yourself.

I understand from yours, Monseigneur, that you had not been correctly informed about the estate of the Marquis of Huntley, and that the trustees who are here have not reported to you exactly, as they do business here; and more than Madame la Marquise (whom I have begged several times to do so). I have written the true account of it to Mr Hay, and I prayed him

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to show you the letters, which I have no doubt he will do; in order to beg of you also to support all the interests of the house in general.

You were kind enough to write to me that the rents of the Marquis were not yet paid, and consequently that I could not have anything from the house for my subsistence. I should be indeed unhappy, Monseigneur, if I had to wait until the rents were paid for the wherewithal to subsist, since in so long a space of time the trustees have not yet been able to arrive as far as the knowledge of how much the revenue amounts to, and all the knowledge that they have of it comes from that which I have given them, having made an exact research to use it in my own interests. I keep them (the accounts) by me in order to communicate them to you as soon as I shall be in a state to leave here, which I cannot do without your aid, for having been obliged to dwell here so long at table d'hôte has emptied my purse entirely, and that is why, Monseigneur, I had recourse to you to beg you very humbly to write (to the Trustees who are here), in the name of the King, that they give me some subsistence to be able to go and solicit the grace of His Majesty and employ your favour.

You know, Monseigneur, that I have been a year in this country without yet knowing what I ought to have to live upon, which afflicts me not a little, since I was treated better among foreigners than among my friends and relations. Finally, Monseigneur, I am obliged to show patience, and to hope that as you have a perfect acquaintance of everything, you know the justice there is in what I ask, and that consequently you will have the goodness to help me; for which reason I can assure you certainly that there is no one in the world who wishes with more passion than I to render you any service, and testify to you how much I am truly, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient and very affectionate servant,

H. de GORDON d' HONTHLEY.

At first Lord Henry agreed with his three nieces about the value (not stated) set by the commissioners on the estates; but it was reported to the Privy Council on July 6, 1665, that "he reseild from his condescendence," and demanded it back; which was granted, the Council forwarding his nieces' agreement to the King (P.C.R. 3S., ii., 69).

The commissioners' report was presented to the Council on July 20, 1665, in which it was stated that Huntly and Lord Henry had both given evidence on the points at issue. Lord Henry estimated the rental of the estate at £31,840 Scots, but Lord Tweeddale, as one of the Marquis's curators, put it in at only £24,711, and pointed out that the property was heavily burdened (P.C.R. 3S., ii., 76-8).

The antagonistic attitude of his young nephew, the Marquis, to

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him is brought out in a letter the former wrote to Lord Lauderdale from Edinburgh on September 12, 1665 (Add. MSS. 23123, f. 184):—

My Lord—My vnclē, lord Henrie, being now with your lo. before this can come to your hands, I most humbly beeger your lo. protection against his auaritious and extrauagant pretentions out of that small remnant of ane estaite which I am to possess by his majesties imediate grace and fauour. But, knowing that my curators has fully staited my conditions to you, I shall say noe more but that your lo. protectione and assistance, both as my curator, and my friend, is expected by my Lord, your Lo. most oblidged pupill and most humble servant,

HUNTLYE.

As nothing seemed to have been done, Lord Henry wrote in desperation to the King himself, dating from Oxford, November 18, 1665 (Add. MSS. 23123, f. 231):—

Sire—Having, in accordance with your Majesty's orders, been in Scotland, to learn there the state of affairs, and particularly those of the Marquis of Huntly (upon which my interests depends), in order to make a report to your Majesty, I have lived one year in that country, where I am informed (as far as can at present be ascertained) of the revenue of the rents of the estate of the said Marquis, which (according to the report which your Majesty's Privy Council has given me to deliver to you) amounts to £31,000 Scots per annum.

I beg, then, your Majesty to be pleased to ordain of his Royal goodness, out of the said rents the portion which I ought to have, according to the right reserved by his Majesty of his grace in giving the said territory to the Marquis, my nephew. I also beg your Majesty to take into consideration the great loss I have suffered, not having yet received during the 30 years I have lived but the sum of £500 sterling, which your Majesty of his liberal kindness ordered me to receive nearly two years ago. I hope then that your Majesty, taking into consideration my just claims, will command at the earliest what I ought to have in order to be able to live, and be in a state to serve your Majesty, which is what I long for with all the passion and the respect possible to, Sire, your very humble and very affectionate subject and faithful servant,

HENRY DE GORDON.

Nothing was done for nearly two years, and then on March 5, 1667, the King ordered Lord Henry to get an annuity of 5000 merks (P.C.R., 3S. ii., 269-271) and it was raised under instruction of June 27, 1667 (ibid., pp. 302-5) on the following lands:—

In the parish of Grange—Lands of Clarkseat, £100 Scots; Mains of Grange, £200; another part thereof, £100; another part of the Mains, £20; Boagloague, £75; Moorifald, £100; another part thereof, £30; Thortoun, £80; Haughs, £80; Garrowoad, £20; Little Clarkseat, £66 13s 4d.

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In the parish of Drumdelgie—Wester Collonach, £96 Scots; Domina, £51 14s; Nether Drumdelgie, £409 12s; Over Drumdelgie, £230; Boagmonie, £45 4/-; Inchstomach, £62 2s 4d.

In the parish of Ruthven—Concloah, £190 6s 7d Scots; Haddoch, £143 16s 2d; Mill of Ruthven and Drumhead, £167 3s 4d; Earnhill, £245 17s 3d; Tillitarmont, £399 5s 2d; Miltour, Ogston and Mill, £209—all these properties representing the 5000 merks a year allotted to Lord Henry, who renounced any other claim on the estate. His three nieces got an annuity of £42,000 Scots between them.

There is also a brief reference in the Privy Council Register, under date July 4, 1667, of a complaint by Lord Henry against the Marquis of Huntly's curators. The discussion of it was postponed till "this day eight dayes," but nothing more is heard of it (P.C.R., 3S. ii. 654-5); so we do not know what happened.

Only two more references to Lord Henry appear. On March 22, 1670, he was a godfather of a son, Henry, of John Gordon and Christian Smith, baptised at Aberdeen by Mr David Lyall. The other godfathers were George Skene of Fintray, Andrew Skene and Henry Panton. This John Gordon belonged to the Birsemoir Gordons and seems to have been in Poland, which would account for Lord Henry's knowing him. A big group of Gordons now residing in Germany are descended from this Birsemoir branch, to which Brig.-General Patrick Gordon, the first governor of Pennsylvania, belonged. Again, as noted in an Aberdeen birth brieve of February, 1672, Lord Henry gave evidence about the origins of John Ludovick Menzies.

Lord Henry's marriage is very obscure. The Balbithan manuscript says (p. 25) that he married "Madame Rulten," but had no succession. Robert Mylne states that he "married one Mrs Rolland, an innkeeper of Aberdeen," but when and where is unknown. The lady was Katherine Rolland, and she is said to have been the daughter of an innkeeper. This contact with a tavern reminds one of his supposed Polish descendant, Francis, "Marquis de Huntly Gordon," who was caricatured in the Warsaw comic paper "Mucha" (March 3, 1905), which showed him sitting all alone in an empty restaurant where the waiters had gone on strike.

Lord Henry is said to have died at Strathbogie—the Balbithan MS. says at "Drumdelzie," which was one of his holdings—in March, 1674-5. A genealogist sends me an extract from the Sheriff Court

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Records of Banff, 1675, and Decrees of Commissariat of Moray, July, 1675—I have failed to verify it—bearing on the lady:—

On July 15, 1675, Mistress Katherine Rolland, relict and executrix confirmed to umquhill Lord Henrie Gordon, brought an action against James Gordon in Auchoynachie for the mails due from the lands of Over Haddoch and Connaclech, and against James Gordon in Comrie for the mails due from Tillitermont. As relict and executrix of the deceased Lord Henrie Gordon, she had decreet an edict of exoneration against all the creditors of the deceased, she having paid the debts.

We have no further information about Lord Henry's wife, who remains very much of a mystery. The Balbithan MS. and C. A. Gordon ("Concise History") both agree in saying he had no issue.

I doubt greatly whether the archives at Gordon Castle would supply any new information about Lord Henry himself beyond the mere facts dealing with his annuity, for he does not seem to have been very friendly with the Marquis, or at any rate the Marquis's curator. Besides, the Marquis spent several years in France after Lord Henry came home from Poland. It is likely, however, that Lord Henry kept on writing to his sister in Poland, but it would be like looking for a needle in a haystack to trace the whereabouts of this correspondence, which may have been destroyed or scattered among her numerous relations scattered over the Continent of Europe.

LORD HENRY'S SUPPOSED ISSUE.

If little is known about the facts of Lord Henry's career, that little would probably have been left untouched but for the tradition, proudly preserved, that he left a daughter on the Continent, represented to-day by a numerous progeny in Poland, Germany and Hungary, some of whom, in Poland, have actually used the style "Marquis de Huntly Gordon," while a German group is named "von Gordon-Huntly." The tradition—often repeated—does not give the maiden name of the mother of the girl, nor the Christian name of the girl herself. She is credited with marrying her cousin once removed, Colonel John James Gordon, of the Polish army, whose traditional grandfather is presented as Major George Gordon of the Lithuanian army.

It is interesting to trace the origin of this tradition. There seems little doubt that it is pivotted on the undoubted fact that Lord Henry

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was granted an "indigenat" in Poland in 1658. This document, however, is taken as a patent of nobility which jettisons our principle of primogeniture and male descent. The curious fact also arises that the "indigenat" was officially reaffirmed by the Polish authorities to different members of the family in 1699 in Poland, in 1768 for a German group, in 1847 for a Polish group and in 1848 for a group in Podolia.

So far as I know, the first attempt to print a pedigree of the family was made by the genealogist, Theodore Zychlinski, in his elaborate book "*Złota Księga Szlachty Polskiej*" (Golden Book of Polish Nobility), which was first published in Posen in 1879. The account (pp. 75-77) is a jumbled affair, opening with some curious statements. For example he says:—"Henry Gordon, grandson of the first Marquis of Huntly and son of Henry, Chancellor of Scotland, left his father's land in the time of Charles I., emigrating to Poland, where he found a warm welcome." We know, of course, that Lord Henry's father was called George and that it was Lord Henry himself, and not his father, who went to Poland. Zychlinski does not supply Lord Henry with a wife, but skips gaily on to a grandson, John James, who in Kosinski's account appears as Lord Henry's grand nephew and also son-in-law. Zychlinski further tells us:—

Ten years [after the granting of the "indigenat"] there appeared in Poland quite another family which played the false part of the marquise family. The grandson of the Marquis Henry, John Gordon of the heavy dragoons, declared before the Polish Parliament of June 16, 1699, that no one but himself had the right to the creation. Again, in the time of King Stanislaus Poniatowski [who was undoubtedly the great grandson of Lady Catherine Gordon] the Extraordinary Parliament affirmed a document entitled "Declaration and Renewal of the Creation."

Zychlinski's account of Lord Henry's supposed descendants was not repeated in the subsequent edition of the "*Złota Księga*," the reader being referred to the account in the first issue, and, after the sixth issue (1884) even that reference is omitted. It was probably the publication of this pedigree which brought the Polish Marquis, who was accompanied by Count Lubomirski, to this country about 1879 or 1880. They are said to have visited London, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

The next printed pedigree appears in the "*Przewodnik Heraldyczny*" (Heraldic Guide) by Adam Amilear Kosinski, first issued in

1877. The pedigree is printed in the edition of 1880, which I have not seen as it is not in the British Museum. But Mr Alexander Murray, formerly our Consul in Warsaw, examined the volume (part ii) and sent me (in 1905) the table which shows that Kosinski also blunders in giving Lady Catherine as the daughter instead of the sister of Lord Henry. He does not give the name of Lord Henry's supposed daughter who married her kinsman, John James Gordon, as his second wife. Kosinski is hopelessly at sea in suggesting that this John James's grandfather, Major George Gordon of the Lithuanian army, was the brother of Lord Henry, whose brother, George, Lord Gordon, was killed at the battle of Alford in 1645.

Kosinski strengthens his suggestion that John James was himself descended from the Huntly family by stating that in 1847 a certain Robert Gordon, descended from John James by his first wife, whose name was Rzeplinska—Lord Henry's supposed daughter is given as his second wife—"proved his nobility in Poland." Kosinski also states that John James had a brother, James Ernest, whose descendants were "recognised as nobles" in Podolia (Russia) in 1848. In 1905 the Marshal of Nobility of the government of Podolia, queried on my behalf by our consul at Warsaw, stated:—

By order 891 of the temporary heraldic court of March 15, 1848, Adam Stephen Gordon, with his sons, John and Eric—he being the son of Valentine Matthew Gordon, the great grandson of Michael Ernest Gordon [the supposed nephew of Lord Henry], were inscribed in the sixth part of the register of births in the nobility of the government of Podolia. Since 1848, no one of the family of Gordon applied to the Marshal of Nobility of Podolia nor to the deputies of the nobility. There is nothing to show that these Gordons made use of the title of Huntly.

What all the confirmations of the original "indigenat" of 1658 show is this, that the various official bodies involved in 1699, 1768, 1847 and 1848, took it for granted that the Gordons claiming descent from John James had a valid right to be considered his legitimate representatives. But none of the claims, so far as I can discover, actually mentions any marriage with a daughter of Lord Henry.

There also seems to be a pedigree in a work called the "Adelsbuch der Lodzia-Czarniecki" (i., 539) of which I can find no notice, though I have seen a manuscript reference to it in the big genealogical dossier belonging to Mr Lenard Kempinski, Ritter von Rakoszyn, a charming

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man whom I visited in his flat, No. 1 Perczel Mor utca (street), in Budapest, on July 5, 1931. Mr Kempski comes of Polish stock which settled in Budapest at the time of the Revolution of 1848. His father was a keen genealogist and collected a big dossier of data, now in possession of Mr Kempski, who has also eighty-six family portraits. Mr Kempski, who was an officer in the Radetsky Hussars and fought on the Galician and Italian fronts, being wounded, is now employed in the Budapest Post Office Savings Bank, and has had his estate of Rakoszyn forfeited. Besides Hungarian, he speaks German and French, but his charming young wife, who belongs to a Thuringian family (von Berger) with a Hungarian mother, adds English to these accomplishments. Mr Kempski's dossier does not supply Lord Henry with a wife and makes Lady Catherine his daughter instead of his sister. Whether Kosinski followed this deduction or suggested it, I do not know.

Another statement of the case, no more illuminating, is made, I believe, in a book, "A Walk Round Cracow," by Josef Wavel-Lui, published in Cracow in 1890; it describes a house in that town, "still standing," which was occupied by the Huntly-Gordon family. A Polish genealogist, Janzcki, employed a few years ago to go into the Polish pedigree, credited Lord Henry with two daughters, but named no mother for them.

The late Lady (Constance) Russell of Swallowfield (d. 1925), a Gordon-Lennox by birth, touched on the case in her charming book, "The Rose Goddess" (1910), where she wrote a chapter on "Our Polish Cousins" (pp. 186-201), but she admits "there is no evidence" of Lord Henry Gordon having left legitimate issue.

If Lord Henry Gordon did have male descendants while in Poland, it would matter a great deal to ourselves for, in the event of the failure of the male issue of the present Marquis of Huntly's line, such descendants would come by the marquissate. It is very significant that when in 1727 Edward Finch, our representative at Warsaw, sent an account of the Gordons in Poland to the 2nd Duke of Gordon—probably at His Grace's request—he made no reference to any descendants of Lord Henry, although it must be confessed that he was hazy about some of the descendants of his sister, Lady Catherine. Had there been such

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(male) issue, Finch would certainly have named them as they would have been in the succession for the Dukedom of Gordon.

What I think is quite likely is that all these families may descend from Major George Gordon of the Lithuanian army. But it is certain that he was not the brother of Lord Henry, as stated by Kosinski, and it is quite unproved that his grandson, John James Gordon, married a daughter of Lord Henry. The linking up of Major George Gordon to Lord Henry seems to be due to the fact that George got an "indigenat" in 1673 ("Volumina Legum," St. Petersburg, 1860: v. 152), but there is no suggestion in this document that he was connected with Lord Henry. This "indigenat" is addressed to "trustworthy persons," inviting for the service of the state in the present time, not only those born in the Fatherland, but also foreigners "yearning to be received into its bosom." Seventeen people are mentioned, including Major George Gordon. "All these," says the indigenat, "we receive with their descendants from their progressive loins as naturalised in our country and we guarantee them a participation of the rights, privileges and liberty of the inhabitants of Poland and the principality of Lithuania." In 1676 we get a declaration of the completed oath of sundry trustworthy persons for naturalisation ("Volumina Legum," v. 445). Eight persons are mentioned, including a Major George Gordon. Then in 1699 there is a document "concerning those who insinuate themselves in the Gordon indigenat" ("Volumina Legum," vi. 36):—

Inasmuch as many rely upon the indigenat of the nobly born Henry, Marquis Huntly, lieutenant-colonel, in the year 1658, and George, major of the army of the Republic in 1676, Gordons who are protected by special laws, so in order to prevent misuse we determine that no one shall use that indigenat of the Marquis Huntly except the well born John Gordon, officer of the hussar regiment, the noble born Referendary of the Crown Marshal of the present Seym. And if any one of them does not agree to this we offer to the said John Gordon the right to complain in any trial by the present law for the abjudication and confiscation of their goods and freedom.

This John Gordon is probably the John James Gordon given in the Polish pedigree as the son of Michael Gordon.

Last of all we get a declaration and renewal of the "indigenat" of the Gordons in 1768 ("Volumina Legum," vii. 798):—

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The excellent service which the well born and naturalised Gordons, and also the successors of their name, who came from noble English blood, true to our fatherland, have accomplished, have received notice and we agree to receive as trusty naturalised persons of the Polish crown and province by the authority of the Sejm the following persons—Joseph Gordon, major, and Fabian Gordon, cadet, in the Life Guards; likewise, Joseph Gordon, lieutenant colonel in the crown army; John Gordon of the Genossen [name of a cuirassier regiment]; and the future descendants of Peter Gordon, Superintendent of Cracow, with his brothers and sisters and their descendants as truly naturalised under the Polish crown and the provinces by the authority of the Sejm. Further we consider them fit to hold our estates and offices. On their behalf we command our Chancellery to give a certificate on account of their good faith towards the Republic.

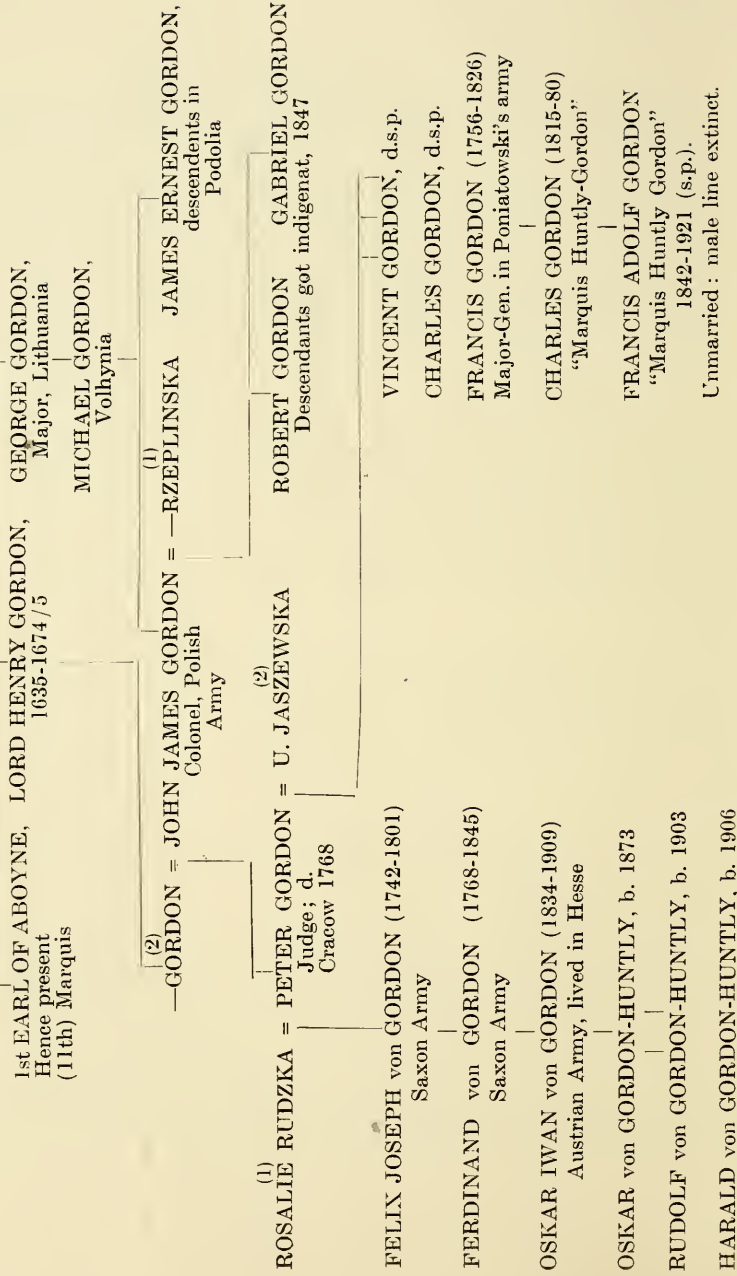
The inclusion of Fabian Gordon in this group suggests that all these Gordons were not related, for Fabian, or at any rate, one Fabian—a very rare name—belonged to the Gordons of Coldwells, ancestor of the Gordons of Laskowitz in West Prussia, who belonged not to the Huntly but to the Haddo line. It looks as if all officers of the name of Gordon had been included generically rather than genealogically in the indigenat. Nowhere, be it noticed, is there any statement of blood relationship.

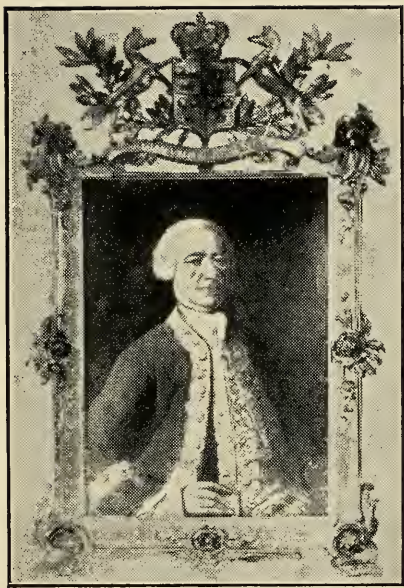
A writer in the *Miesiecznik Heraldyczny* (Warsaw: March, 1932: translated fully in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, July, 1932: 3 S. x. 99-100) credits Lord Henry with a son Jerzy (George, alive 1673)—mother unnamed. But this does not help us, for he frankly says of Peter Gordon of Cracow, the undoubted ancestor of the Polish “Marquises,” that the “indigenat” he got in 1768 “does not” show that he was a descendant of the Scots Marquises of Huntly. In other words, Peter is left in the air: and, I may note, that Peter or Patrick is a rare name among the Huntly group.

In the same statement Jerzy, the supposed son of Lord Henry, appears as the grandfather, through a son, John (alive 1699) of Gabriel (born 1718), whose descendants, carried down by the same writer to Anton (born 1833), are not followed up by Zychlinski.

We are therefore driven back on the descent of the “Marquises” from Lord Henry’s supposed and unnamed daughter, which may be arranged in table form:—

2nd MARQUIS OF HUNTLY, beheaded 1649





PETER GORDON OF CRACOW.

From the oil painting in the possession of Lenard Kempski,
of Budapest.

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It will be noted from this table that John James Gordon, the supposed husband of Lord Henry's daughter, had by his first wife,—Rzeplinska, two sons, Robert and Gabriel. According to a correspondent in the Warsaw heraldic magazine, *Miesiecznik Heraldyczny* (March, 1932: xi., 66), Gabriel (b. 1718), "administrator of goods" in Straszewic—who is given, apparently, as the great grandson of Lord Henry—had, by his wife, Petronella:—a son, Joseph (b. 1770), land steward: who, by his wife, Domicella Skorewska, had a son, Anton (b. 1798), also a land steward. This Anton, by his wife, Agnes Constance Sniesko, had: Alfons (b. 1832): Joseph (b. 1831): Anton (b. 1833): and Zenobia. "All the three sons were recognised in the 'Royal Heraldry' of 1839. They even presented a petition to be recognised as Marquises in the Russian Empire, but, unable to finance the legal proceedings, they let the case drop."

The descent of all these people from Lord Henry seems impossible of proof. As Captain Oskar von Gordon rather sadly says: "Lord Henry is still the weak point in the pedigree" ("Sicher ist Lord Henry noch ein schwacher Punkt in dem Stammbaum"). But we reach perfectly solid ground in Peter Gordon of Cracow. Whether he was the grandson of Lord Henry or not, there is no doubt about his own existence, that of his wives and of his descendants, many of whom bear the name of Gordon and, through marriage, other patronymics, and are still alive.

Peter was a man of some note, for he was Superintendent of the armies of Little Poland, constable in Cracow and judge of Czernichow, dying at Cracow in 1768. He was twice married, first to Rosalie Wezyk Rudzka, and secondly to Ursula Jaszewska of Lubica in Galicia. The two marriages divided his two families into two groups, for the only son of the first marriage settled in Saxony, while the three sons of the second marriage—Vincent (b. 1747), Charles (1749-1820) and Francis Salezy Gordon (1756-1826)—remained in Poland, where the male line became extinct in 1921.

Francis (1756-1826) was a major general in the Polish army and became A.D.C. to Stanislaus Poniatowski, though whether he actually claimed kin with him I do not know. By his wife, Marianna Sapinska, he had a son, Gregory Charles Francis (1815-1880), who married the

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Countess Laura Philipina Soltyk (d. Cracow, 1897). He had two sons, Charles (1840-83), who married Countess Valeria Tarnowska (d. Lemberg, 1905), and had a daughter, Caroline Valeria (b. 1880), now living at Lyons; and a son, Francis Adolf Thomas Zenon, the "Marquis Huntly Gordon" (1842-1921), with whom the male line ended.

After a great deal of trouble and many enquiries extending over a quarter of a century, I have been able to piece together the life of Francis Adolf. He was born on April 18, 1842, in the village of Zelazna, province of Radomsk, where his father owned land, though curiously enough three passports issued in 1894, 1898 and 1901 give the year as 1852. He owned two adjacent estates, Pieskowa Skala and Ojcow, in the province of Kielce, thirty kilometres from Warsaw. The editor of the Warsaw comic paper "Mucha" ("The Fly") tells me in rather curious English that the "best years of the Marquis's life were 1870-1880. At that time he was the life of the house of his mother's brother, Marcel Soltyk, where people used to enjoy themselves on a large scale as there were three young girls." He was a member of the smart Klub Myslyski (Club des Chasseurs, it has been translated) at Warsaw.

Falling into financial difficulties, the Marquis had to sell his estates to John Zawisza, whose daughter married Count Ludwik Krasinski. The latter's daughter, Ludwika Krasinska, married Prince Adam Czartoryski and now owns the Marquis's estates. This fact is very interesting for Prince Adam Czartoryski is a descendant of Lady Catherine Gordon, Countess Morsztyn, the sister of the Marquis's supposed ancestor, Lord Henry Gordon. I do not know whether the Marquis was acknowledged as kinsman by Prince Adam Czartoryski, but it is certain that the latter's wife, who owned the Marquis's estates, granted him an annuity.

When the Marquis lost his land he earned his living in some capacity in a bank in Warsaw, and lived very simply, occupying two rooms on the ground floor of No. 31 Długa Street. He lived alone without a servant, his household work being done by a servant from the German Hotel which occupied the same building. It may have been in the open air cafe of the hotel that Maciej Walecz, an artist of "Mucha," pictured him in a clever cartoon in that journal (March 3, 1905)—a lugubrious,

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aristocratic figure in a tall hat sitting all alone at a table before a glass, for there was a strike of waiters and no visitors were to be seen in the cafe. It was on the appearance of this picture that I wrote to him. But he was too tired or too disheartened with life to start a genealogical correspondence, directing me to the Zychlinski pedigree.

For several years he hardly moved out of Warsaw, getting no further than his old estate, though in June, 1907, he went for a time to Cracow, but his movements are difficult to follow. When the war came his financial circumstances became deplorable, and he applied for assistance to the owner of his old estate, the Princess Ludwika Czartoryski, who gave him an annuity.

The Marquis, I was told, was "a quiet gentleman" who was a skilled pianist. He seems to have been a character, or, as my correspondent puts it, "a very original type, tall, meagre, with a wig on his head and a powdered face, also very lively. As a result he was introduced on the stage by a clever comedian, Edward Olszewski, at the Vaudeville Theatre, Warsaw."

The end of the Marquis was very sad. He found his way to Inowroclaw, a small town between Torun and Poznan, some four or five hours railway journey from Warsaw, in the summer of 1921, living there from July 19 to September 28 in the hotel Pod Lwem. He was looked after by the local curate who, curiously enough, was also named Gordon, and who had him transferred to the district hospital where he died five days later, October 2, 1921, and he was buried in an unnamed grave in the Roman Catholic cemetery of the place. As the Marquis was unmarried, this branch of the Gordons seems to be extinct in the male line.

By moving into Saxony, a land of far greater stability, the son of Peter by his first wife was far luckier than his three step-brothers who remained in Poland, for his line still flourishes. The head of it is Captain Oskar von Gordon Huntly, a retired officer of the German Navy, who lives at Wiesbaden, and has made a most minute study of the history of his family, though he is no more able than the Polish genealogists to account for the ancestors of Peter.

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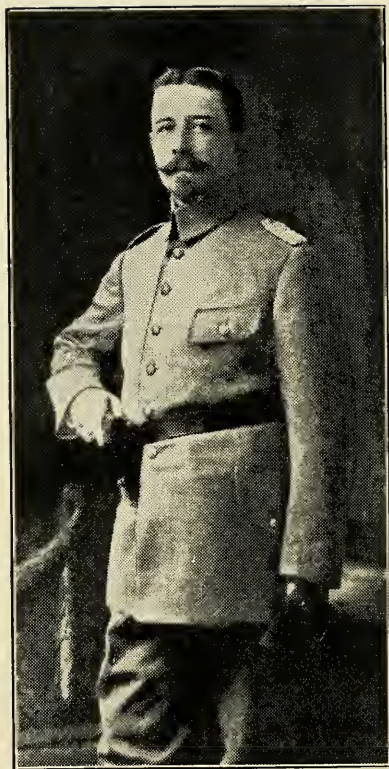
THE SAXON LINE OF GORDONS.

Let me now examine the Saxon line of Gordons (supposed) to be descended from Lord Henry Gordon and, quite clearly, from Peter Gordon, Superintendent of Cracow, who died in 1768.

The line was established by Felix Joseph von Gordon, the only son of Peter by his first wife, Rosalie Wezyk Rudzka, who was obviously a Pole. He was born in Cracow, on May 30, 1742, and died on June 14, 1801 at Marienberg, which is sixteen miles from Chemnitz in Saxony. Early in life he had taken a post in the Saxon Army—if he did not actually move at once into Saxony—rising to be a colonel of hussars.

It was not that he had changed his national allegiance. What happened was that during most of his lifetime Poland was ruled, from 1698 to 1763, by the Elector of Saxony—and badly ruled. It had been foolishly governed by John Sobieski and, when he died, broken hearted, in the summer of 1696, the Poles invited Frederick August, the Elector of Saxony, to become their King. For the next seventy years Poland, as Nisbet Bain says, “cannot be said to have had any history.” She became a no-man’s land, a hunting ground, where, as Catherine the Great put it, “you could always pick up something worth having for the mere trouble of stooping for it.” The reign of Frederick August (1698-1733) has been described as a “hideous hurly-burly,” while that of his son (Frederick) August III. (1733-63), who lived comfortably at Dresden and rarely visited Poland, was a period of absolute stagnation. It was, therefore, no wonder that Felix Joseph von Gordon, the son of Peter of Cracow, chose to settle down in Saxony, leaving his half brothers behind. But even so, the Gordons had a sort of “guidin’ o’t” for Stanislaus Poniatowski (1732-98), who succeeded August III. as Stanislaus II., was the great-grandson of Lady Catherine Gordon, wife of Count Morsztyn and the sister of Lord Henry, who is supposed to have been the ancestor of the Saxon and Polish Gordons.

Felix Josef von Gordon, who was a Roman Catholic, married at Werben, February 15, 1786, Augusta von Weissenfels (born at Werben 1764, an Evangelical, who married, secondly, Major von Gluer), and had one son and three daughters:—



CAPTAIN OSKAR VON GORDON-HUNTLY
in the uniform of a German naval officer, from a photograph
taken at Bruges.

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1. Ferdinand Heinrich Joseph von Gordon : carried on the line : q.v.
2. Fredericia Louise Augusta Marianna von Gordon : born November 27, 1786, at Werben.
3. Emilie (Emma) von Gordon : married Karl August von Winckler (died, 1841, at Luckaitz, where he was born). They had a son, August Ferdinand von Winckler, who is represented to-day by several grandchildren.
4. Clementina von Gordon : born March 28, 1799 : died unmarried, April 24, 1854.

Ferdinand Heinrich Joseph von Gordon, only son of Joseph von Gordon : born at Lieberose, near Frankfurt, January 3, 1788 : died July 13, 1845, at Drebkau, Prussia. He was a major in the Horse Guards, but shortly after his marriage he left the army and went to live on his wife's property at Sacka, near Königsruck.

He married (1) Dorothea Christiana Henrietta von Barenstein (1793-1819) and (2) on June 28, 1826, at Luckaitz, Clara von Winckler (born at Sacka in 1806), daughter of Carl August Winckler of Luckaitz and his wife, Johanna Henrietta, née von Winckler. His sister, Emilie, also married into the von Winckler family. Ferdinand had three sons and a daughter.

1. Franz August von Gordon, by the first wife, who carried on the third generation of the Saxon line.
2. Kathinka von Gordon : born at Sacka, November 6, 1829 : died at Blasewitz, November 3, 1921. Married, November 6, 1852, Oskar Barteky (1823-1916). They had two sons and a daughter and are represented to-day by grandchildren and great grandchildren bearing several surnames : Barteky, Hetzer, Heynig and Schmitz.
3. Feodor Alfred von Gordon (1831-85) carried on the third generation.
4. Oskar Iwan von Gordon : born at Sacka, May 4, 1834 : died at Darmstadt July 11, 1909. He entered the Austrian army, becoming lieutenant and in 1862 was made adjutant to the Austrian general accredited to the Bundesrath at Frankfurt. He married at Frankfurt am Main, May 14, 1862, Johanna Wilhelmina Clara Mampel (born at Mainz, July 5, 1841 : died at Darmstadt, July 9, 1915). They had two sons and two daughters.
 1. Rudolf Gordon (1863-1924) carried on the male line : q.v.
 2. Oskar von Gordon-Huntly : born 1873 : now senior male representative of the family : q.v.
 3. Fanny von Gordon : born November 11, 1864, at Zwingenberg : married there, January 15, 1891, August Nagel (born 1860). They have three daughters and four grandchildren.
 4. Marie von Gordon : born at Zwingenberg, March 5, 1866 : superintendent of the Eleanorenhelm (maternity home), Darmstadt.

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Franz August von Gordon, who carried on the first line of the third generation of the family was the elder son of Ferdinand Heinrich Josef von Gordon (1788-1845): born March 19, 1818, at Rosswein: died at Leipzig, November 14, 1871. He was a captain of light horse and had just offered his services against France when he died. He married at Priessnitz, October 16, 1850, Marie Dorothea von Einsendel (1826-1890). They had one son and three daughters:

1. Felix Alexander: born January 1, 1859, at Cossmansdorf, near Hainsberg: died there May 19, 1875, as a German cadet. He represented the fourth generation, but, as he was unmarried, the senior male line became extinct with him.
2. Fanny Antoinette von Gordon: born at Preissnitz, April 7, 1852: died at Blasewitz, December 31, 1914. Married Udo von Wuthenau, army officer.
3. Marga Henriette von Gordon: born July 9, 185-: died April 30, 1917: married at Cossmansdorf, October 15, 1873, Paul von Römer, and had a son, Hans Rudolf von Römer (killed in the war in 1917, at the age of forty) and a daughter who married Baron Gunther von Bischoffhausen.
4. Antoinette Marie von Gordon: born November 18, 1857, at Cossmansdorf: married at Dresden, August 8, 1887, Ernst Richard Huste (1857-1926).

After the death of Felix Alexander Gordon (1859-75), the male representation of the family reverted to his uncle, Feodor Alfred von Gordon, second son of Ferdinand Heinrich Josef von Gordon (1788-1845) of the second generation.

He was born at Sacka, March 24, 1831, and died at Leipzig, on October 28, 1885. He married Pauline Rober Nerchau (died at Leipzig, 1913), and had one son:—

Paul von Gordon: married Augusta Ribner: died at Leipzig, March 29, 1922, leaving a daughter. He represented the fourth generation. The senior male representation passed on his death to his father's nephew, Rudolf.

When Paul von Gordon died, in 1922, the senior male representation passed to his first cousin, Rudolf von Gordon, the eldest son of Oskar Iwan von Gordon (1834-1909).

Rudolf was born at Este, May 4, 1863. He was an officer in the Grand Duke of Hesse's (Life Guards) regiment, no., 115, and in 1897-9 in the 168th Infantry. When he died at Charlottenburg, May 26, 1924, the male line was carried on by his brother, Oskar. Rudolf married at Frankfurt, October 14, 1900, Alexandra Buttel (born there, June 6, 1868) and left only two daughters:—

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1. Anna von Gordon : born August 19, 1901, at Frankfurt : married.
2. Lucie von Gordon : born January 1, 1904, at Frankfurt.

When Rudolf von Gordon died, in 1927, the male representation passed to his brother, Oskar von Gordon-Huntly, now head of the house and the ardent geneologist of the family. The second son of Colonel Iwan Oskar Gordon (1834-1909), he was born at Zwingenberg, July 15, 1873, and entered the German navy, retiring as a captain. He married at Darmstadt, April 7, 1902, Elsbeth Johanna Gipperich (born at Shanghai, June 18, 1880). They have two sons and a daughter:—

1. Rudolf Walter Emil von Gordon : born at Wilhelmshaven, April 12, 1903 : mining engineer (diploma), trained at Charlottenburg.
2. Harald Hermann Gustav von Gordon : born at Cuxhaven, August 9, 1906 : engineer on German State railways.
3. Erna Gertrud Lina von Gordon : born at Kiel, June 15, 1904 : married at Gottingen, March 9, 1929, Dr Juris. Fried. Franz König (born 1903).

LORD HENRY'S SISTER, COUNTESS MORSZTYN.

There is no difficulty about the career of Lord Henry's sister, Lady Catherine Gordon, Countess Morsztyn, nor about her descendants, who can be counted by the score, the best known of all being her great grandson, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, the last King of Poland.

The Countess Morsztyn was a powerful personality, who played quite a part in the history of her time. There was certainly nothing "hair-brained" about her, as Robert Mylne remarked about her brother. Mylne's account of her can be greatly expanded. He says ("Diary of Patrick Gordon," p. 32):—

Kathrine, daughter of George, second Marquis of Huntley, went abroad to France [she was really born there] : and thereafter she and the daughter of the Cardinal of Arquein went to Polland with the Queen thereof, Mary Lodovica de Gonzaga, daughter of the Duke of Nevers of the house of Mantua, in order to marry Uladislaus, King of Polland : [she really married his brother, John Casimir] : and the two were both her maids of honour. And this Queen procured Kathrine Gordon to be married to Count Murstein. This Katrine, Countess of Morstein was ane active woman, and had as much credite among the nobility of Polland as over her husband's mind anent the election of the Prince of Conti to be King of Polland.

Lady Catherine got a chance of exercising her gifts when, in 1659, she married Count John Andrew Morsztyn, a cultivated courtier, who

was Grand Treasurer of Poland and twenty-three years her senior. We have already seen that Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries met Lady Catherine and Morsztyn at Thorn, in January, 1659, when they were engaged. They were married later in the same year, and Lady (Constance) Russell tells us that Lord Henry was the only member of the Gordon family at the marriage. The ceremony seems to have been a great occasion, at which the King and Queen were present, for Lady Russell quotes, in the "Rose Goddess" (pp. 272-4), a long and extraordinary speech made at the ceremony by Leszczynski, the vice chancellor of Poland, though she does not tell us where she found the speech. The most curious passage is that in which he assured the king: "He (Morsztyn) sees quite plainly that by giving him his present wife, your Majesties give him more than may be given by honours and wealth or anything else invented for the gratification of man."

In 1668 Lady Catherine's old friend, Dr Davidson, dedicated his "Theophrasti Veridici Scoti doctoris medici Plicomastix" to Morsztyn—"Illustrissimo, illustrisimo [bis] Domino Dn. Joanni Antheae Comiti de Morsztyn." This curious work is interesting as the earliest example of a book being printed in Aberdeen for publication in a Continental city, Dantzic to wit ("Bibliographia Aberdonensis," p. 416, which does not identify Morsztyn).

Lady Catherine's married life in Poland ran for nearly a quarter of a century, till 1683, when Morsztyn was exiled and betook himself, gladly, to France. During her stay in Poland the history of the country was exceedingly complicated in a typically schismatic way. The difficulty partly revolved round the question whether Poland should link herself with France or with Austria. The Morsztyns were pro French, but Lady Catherine's old colleague in waiting, Mlle. D'Arquien (more familiar as Marysienka), though French by birth, was anti French in policy, because Louis XIV. had declined to advance her father to a dukedom. After her first marriage, in 1657, with Prince Zamoyski, Marysienka married John Sobieski, in 1665, having meantime, it was said, had an eye on his immediate predecessor, Michael Wisniowiecki, whose brief reign (1669-1673) was full of trouble. A lively picture of the period is given by Casimir Waliszewski in his facile book "Marysienka," which was translated into English by Lady Mary

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Loyd in 1898. Waliszewski tells us that the Countess Morsztyn wrote many letters, especially in 1669, about the situation in Poland to the Archbishop of Toulouse, who had been ambassador there. In one of them she gave herself out as determined to live in future far from the world and spend her hours "playing cards and saying her prayers when cards wearied her."

Marysienka got her adoring husband, Sobieski, whom Nisbet Bain thought such a "very shoddy sort of hero," to sign a treaty with Austria. There are those who think that, if Poland had relied on France, the partitions would not have taken place. But those who view the case differently present Morsztyn as a sort of crook, who robbed the state; to which it is replied that he was not the only statesman of the time to do so. Waliszewski, who is definitely anti-Morsztyn, says that for years the Count had been "sailing between wind and water and skirting dangerous reefs." At last in 1683 he was caught out, largely through the lynx-eyed Marysienka, and went off to France—gladly, for he had bought a large estate there, with Polish funds.

On returning to France in 1683, the Morsztyns settled down on the estate of Chateau Villain in the department of Haute-Marne. He had bought this estate from the Duc de Vitry in 1680, as if anticipating his final exile, and he styled himself "Monsieur de Martis, Comte du Chateau Villain" and Baron Montrouge, feeling absolutely at home in his French surroundings.

Although Lady Catherine got no share of the Huntly estates under the provision of 1667, which gave her brother, Henry, an annuity of 5000 merks, she was so proud of her Scots origins that she got a birth brieve under the Great Seal of Scotland on August 21, 1687. Miss Warrender suggests that she did so out of exasperation over the pretensions of the Chevreuse family, who, according to St. Simon ("Memories," edited by Chereul and Regnier, i. 381-2), thought it was a condescension to allow the marriage of Mlle. Luynes, daughter of the Duke of Luynes and Chevreuse, to the Countess's only son, Michael Adalbert. The birth brieve is a formidable document in Latin, of some two thousand words, in which the origins of Lady Catherine are taken back to George, the 2nd Earl of Huntly and his wife, who is given as "Domina Joanna, Jacobi Primi Scotorum regis filia." The name of the



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Princess was really Annabella, and it is doubtful whether she left male issue ("Scots Peerage," iv. 528). Having dealt with Lady Catherine's male ancestors, the birth brief proceeds to give the pedigrees of the wives of the Earls and Marquises of Huntly, emphasizing in particular the French origins of Henrietta Stuart, wife of the 1st Marquis, and daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, this being done apparently to emphasise the French strain in Lady Catherine. This matter is the familiar ground work of genealogy, but the grandiloquent preamble of it all is worth quoting. Addressed to "Emperors, Kings, pontiffs, princes, and heads of states, consuls" and so on, it proceeds:—

Inasmuch as it is our wish to adorn this commendation as with a mark of our goodwill the illustrious Lady Catherine Gordon, conspicuously adorned with high gifts, both of soul and body, who, having been born in France and educated there from her tender years, was called thence into Poland by the most serene Queen Maria Gonzaga, and under her most serene auspices was united in marriage to the illustrious lord John Andrew, Count of Morstine, a most wise Senator of the Kingdom of Poland and High Treasurer; and whereas both in Poland and elsewhere (for owing to the wickedness of traitors she as an exile had so far not known her own country) and especially in France, which was her adopted country, she had given so many and so conspicuous examples of piety, prudence and chastity that she seemed by the accession of her own lustre to have added not a little to the lustre of her ancestors:

We, having been humbly petitioned by her most illustrious kinsfolk, and by very wise and learned men of whom this gift has been asked, inasmuch as she has made her home in France, as if it were her native land, in the very place of her good deeds among foreigners, especially among the French to whom she has returned (the Countship of Chateau Villain and Marquisate of Arg having been acquired at the expense of her above mentioned husband), are not minded to refuse our strong testimony alike to her open truth and to the honours and rewards given by our ancestors, the most serene kings of Scotland, to her ancestors because of their good faith, which has been constant to God, helpful to their King, and dear to their country, often conspicuously proved even by the shedding of their blood.

The Countess Morsztyn died in 1691, at the age of fifty-six ("Gazette de France," March 17, 1691, p. 8, as noted in "The Rose Goddess," p. 201). Morsztyn lingered till 1693, when he was eighty. The Morsztyns had a son and two daughters:

1. Michael Adalbert Morsztyn, Count of Chateau Villain, an officer in the French army, who was killed at the siege of Namur, in 1692. By his wife, Marie Therese de Luynes, daughter of Charles Honore d'Albert, Duc de Chevreuse (1646-1712) by his wife, Jeanne Marie Colbert (1650-1732), daughter of the Marquis de Seignelay, he left only two daughters, Caroline

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and Catherine, who seem to have descendants still living. His widow married (2) M. de Sassenage.

2. Louisa Maria Morsztyn married Casimir Bielinski, Marshal of the Crown of Poland, and is represented to-day by numerous descendants, including members of the princely family of Lubomirski.
3. Isabella Morsztyn married Prince Casimir Czartoryski, Castellan of Vilna, thus becoming the ancestor of a very large group, and grandmother of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski.

A whole book could be written about Isabella's descendants, some of whom were distinguished men of affairs. It is beyond my scope to attempt to do so, all the more as Miss Warrender has made elaborate investigations into their history, of which she has been good enough to supply me with many interesting facts. Suffice it to say that the Princess Isabella was, in the words of Miss Warrender, "a very remarkable woman, with all the intelligence of her mother, added to the personal charm and great cultivation of her father."

She had been taken to France as a young girl by her exiled parents and was brought up at the Court of Versailles. Nisbet Bain, who pays high tribute to the Czartoryski family in his life of Poniatowski (pp. 48-50), says that "from her earliest youth her grace, intellect and beauty had attracted a whole army of suitors from among the noblest families in France." But her heart turned to her native Poland and when she married Prince Casimir Czartoryski, about 1693, she "quitted France never to return. Not a breath of scandal touched her. She shunned publicity and detested ostentation, but her house was the rendezvous of a few choice spirits who endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to combine French esprit with Polish chivalry and refine without effeminating the sturdy traditional virtues of old Poland."

Princess Isabella was very proud of her Scots origin, and like her mother, in 1687, she applied for and got under the Great Seal a birth brieve. The document, dated March 6, 1700, runs ("Decreta," p. 318):—

Anent the petition given in to the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council be Issobella, Countess of Morstein, married to Casimir, Prince of Czartouriskie, Duke of Clevelen, of the family of Jageltone in Polland, showing that Androw, Earle of Morstein, great theasaurer of Polland, the petitioner's father, was married to Lady Catherine Gordon, sister german to the Marques of Argyle. And whereas one of the petitioner's sones and the petitioner are to obtaine a birth brieve as to their descent in Polland, bot the petitioner's mother's genealogie being only proper to be obtained under the great seall

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of Scotland, which was easily found of these two noble families of Huntley and Argyll and which is instantly verified by a record of His Majesty's chancelory bearing the genealogie of the same lady, the petitioner's mother :

And therefore humbly supplicating the saids lords to the effect after-mentioned. As the said petition bears, the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Councill, having considered the above petition given in to them be the above Issobella, Countess of Morstein, they doe hereby give order and warrant to the director of His Majesty's Chancelory and his deputies to wryte out a birth brieve as to the genealogie of Lady Cathrin Gordon, daughter of George, Marquis of Huntley, conforme to a birth brieve of the date of the 21st August, 1687, in the record produced this day in presence of the lords of His Majesty's Privy Councill, and recommends to the Lord High Chancellor and gives order and warrant to his deputies to append the great Seall thereto, and to the Lyon King at Armes and heralds to blassone the severall coats of armes of the families mentioned in the birth brieve, to the end the nobility of the said Issobella, Countess of Morstein, may appear in foreign countries wher she is placed.

Princess Isabella Czartoryski had two sons and a daughter:—

1. Prince Michael Czartoryski, whose grand-daughter, Countess Isabella Fleming, married Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski, her cousin once removed.
2. Prince Augustus Czartoryski, married a great heiress, Sophie Sieniawska, widow of Count Donhoff. They had issue:—
 - (1) Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski (1734-1825), married his kinswoman, Countess Isabella Flemming, who had with other issue:—

Prince Adam George Czartoryski (1770-1861), the well known Polish patriot, who suffered for his ardour by being exiled from Poland in 1831, after which he lived chiefly in Paris. He is mentioned in almost all books of biographical reference and is dealt with in autobiographical form in his "Memoirs," published in Paris in 1887, and edited in English by Adam Gielgud in 1888. This book gives his correspondence with Alexander I. of Russia and with Pitt, Fox and Brougham, together with his conversations with Palmerston and other statesmen in 1832.
 - (2) Princess Constance Czartoryski, "a lady of great spirit" as Nisbet Bain says, married in 1750 Count Stanislaus Ciolek Poniatowski 1678-1762), Castellan of Cracow. It is often said, recently in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," that the Count was the "reputed son of Prince Sapieha and a Jewess." This statement is traceable to the "Histoire de l'Anarchie en Pologne" (1807), by Rulhiere, a French diplomat. The family assert that the Count was the son of Francis Poniatowski and his wife, Helen. He belonged through his great-grandmother to the family of Leszczynski, which accounts for Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski's being chosen King of Poland in succession to Stanislaus Leszczynski (dethroned 1763), the father of the consort of Louis XV. of France. Stanislaus Poniatowski and Princess Constance Czartoryski had ten children, the fourth son being Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1732-98), the last King of Poland, who lost his throne in 1795 and died without issue.

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THE LAST KING OF POLAND.

A huge literature surrounds the hectic career of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, including his own curious "secret memoirs"—published most recently in German in a well illustrated edition—and the late Mr Nisbet Bain's book "The Last King of Poland and his contemporaries" (1909). From the point of view of the present inquiry the most interesting incident in his career was his visit to London in the year 1754, at which time he was a perfect Adonis. He deals with this in his memoirs, but does not tell us, though he mentions several notabilities, as Horace Walpole does ("Letters," edited by Toynbee, iii., 230-1), that he visited his distant kinswoman, the widow of the 3rd Duke of Gordon. She had been Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Aberdeen. She was fourteen years his senior and had been a widow for two years, being left with three sons—the 4th Duke, Lord William, who bolted with Lady Sarah Bunbury, and Lord George, the Rioter—and three daughters. Writing to a friend in May, 1754, Walpole says:—

T'other night a description was given to me of the most extraordinary declaration of love that was ever made. Have you seen young Poniatowski? He is very handsome. You have seen the figure of the Duchess of Gordon, who looks like a raw boned Scotch metaphysician that has got a red face by drinking water.

One day at a drawing room having never spoken to him she sent one of the foreign Ministers to invite Poniatowski to dine with her the next day. He bowed and went. The moment the door opened her two little sons [possibly Lord William and Lord George] attired like Cupids, with bows and arrows, shot at him; and one of them literally hit his hair and was very nearly putting his eye out and hindering his casting it to the couch where she, another sea-borne Venus lay.

The only company besides the Highland Goddess were two Scotsmen who could not speak a word of any language but their own native Erse; and, to complete his astonishment at this allegorical entertainment, with the dessert there entered a little horse and galloped round the table—a hieroglyphic I cannot solve. Poniatowski accounts for this profession of kindness by his great grandmother being a Gordon, but I believe it to be accounted for by

The Duchess seems to have had a penchant for young men, for the year following Poniatowski's visit she married General Staats Long Morris, who was thirteen years her junior. Poor Poniatowski was afterwards to suffer severely at the hands of another Catherine, the Empress of Russia.

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Stanislaus's sister, the Countess Zamoyski is said to have visited England, which she never saw in 1767. She was said to have secretly married a certain Dr James Wilmot, and had a daughter, "Olive Wilmot," who claimed to have secretly married, in 1767, the Duke of Cumberland, son of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Another legend suggests that another of Stanislaus's sisters, Isabel, the Countess Braniczka, had a natural son by G. A. Hyde, son of the Earl of Clarendon, who was known in Poland as "le beau Anglais." As a matter of fact she was a deeply religious woman who had no child. I mention these reports to show what fairy tales grow up round families.

In conclusion let me say that if the ennobled Gordons in Scotland have paid little attention to their Polish relations—"Burke," for example, simply tells us that Lady Catherine married "Count Morstain, high treasurer of Poland"—these relations, and supposed relations, are intensely interested in the descent, not least the many descendants of Lady Catherine, Countess Morsztyn.

In unravelling the tangle, which is still far from clear, I have received much assistance from three of these descendants, most of all from Captain Oskar von Gordon-Huntly, late of the German navy, who lives at Wiesbaden, and is now head of the families claiming descent from Lord Henry. Help has also been given by Mr Lenard Kempski, now living in Budapest. He possesses an oil painting of Peter Gordon of Cracow in an old frame, surmounted by the Huntly motto, "Animo non astutia," together with eighty other family portraits, and a large genealogical dossier collected mainly by his late father, Mr Michael Kempski. His cousin, Mr Gustave Mikucinski, living in Cracow, has also given me useful information. Both the latter claim descent from Peter's son, Joseph—though Captain von Gordon-Huntly assigns a different father, Wladislaus, to the latter. In translating the German, in which most of these correspondents have written, I have been assisted by my brother, Professor William Bulloch, and by my brother-in-law, Mr Charles Godfrey Greenhill.

Last of all, I am greatly indebted to Miss Margaret Warrender for the Poniatowski descent, which works out in tabular form, as follows:

1st MARQUIS OF HUNTLY

7th EARL OF ARGYLL

2nd MARQUIS OF HUNTLY
executed 1649

= LADY ANNE CAMPBELL
b. 1594, m. 1607, d. 1638

LORD HENRY GORDON
1635-75
m. Katherine Rolland

LADY CATHERINE GORDON
1635-91
m. 1659

= COUNT JOHN ANDREW MORSZTYN
1613-93
Grand Treasurer of Poland

MICHAEL ADALBERT MORSZTYN
Count de Chateau Villan :
k. Namur, 1692.
m. MLLLE. DE LUYNES, 2 daus.

LOUISA MARIA MORSZTYN
m. 1691, CASIMIR BIELINSKI :
many descendants, e.g.,
Lutbomirskis

ISABELLA MORSZTYN, 1672-1758
m. PRINCE CASIMIR CZARTORYSKI,
CASTELLAN OF VILNA :
3 sons : 3 daus.

MICHAEL CZARTORYSKI
many descendants,
e.g., Radziwill,
Zamoyski

AUGUSTUS CZARTORYSKI
"Prince Palatine of Russia,"
many descendants, e.g.,
Potocki.

CONSTANCE CZARTORYSKI
m. STANISLAUS PONIATOWSKI
son of Count Francis Poniatowski
5 sons : 2 daus.

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI
1732-98, unmarried
Last King of Poland (1764-95)
as Stanislaus II.

